

NEW YORK HERALD.

BROADWAY AND ANN STREET.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT, PROPRIETOR.

All business or news letters and telegraphic despatches must be addressed New York Herald.

Letters and packages should be properly sealed.

Rejected communications will not be returned.

Volume XXXII. No. 301

ARGUMENTS THIS EVENING.

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, Fourteenth street—Italian Opera—The Hibernians.

FRENCH THEATRE, Fourteenth street—Opera House.

BOHEMIAN THEATRE, Broadway—The Hibernians.

NEW YORK THEATRE, Broadway—The Hibernians.

CLYDE THEATRE, Broadway—The Hibernians.

WALLACK'S THEATRE, Broadway and 10th street—The Hibernians.

OLIVIER STADT THEATRE, No. 4 and 5 Bowery—The Hibernians.

DOUGLASS THEATRE, Broadway—The Hibernians.

BROADWAY THEATRE, Broadway—The Hibernians.

HANCOCK'S OPERA HOUSE AND MUSEUM, Broadway and Third street—The Hibernians.

NEW YORK CIRCUS, Broadway—The Hibernians.

FIFTH AVENUE THEATRE, 2nd and 3rd streets—The Hibernians.

THEATRE COMIQUE, 2nd Broadway—The Hibernians.

SPANISH MINSTRELS, 2nd Broadway—The Hibernians.

REILLY & LEON'S MINSTRELS, 2nd Broadway—The Hibernians.

TONY PASTOR'S OPERA HOUSE, 2nd Bowery—The Hibernians.

EIGHTH AVENUE OPERA HOUSE, 3rd and 4th streets—The Hibernians.

HUTCHER'S AMERICAN THEATRE, 3rd Broadway—The Hibernians.

ROBINSON HALL, Broadway and Fifth street—The Hibernians.

DODWORTH'S HALL—The Hibernians.

ROOPE'S OPERA HOUSE, Broadway—The Hibernians.

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The Nigger Question and the Republican Party.

Shall this continent be given up to barbarism for a financial experiment and a party scheme? This, and none other, is now the question before the American people. Shall we throw away what we have acquired of science and civilization, blot out our history, give up all aspirations of the future, that the nigger may become supreme and restore the land to that happy state of nature in which Africa now is? Is Africa such a magnificent evidence of the nigger's greatness that the example of its history should induce us to change our system for his? For uncounted centuries the negro has had possession of that continent and never built a city, never bridged a river, never made the smallest discovery having any tendency to widen the little space that separates him from the gorilla—never even borrowed the discoveries of races with which he came in contact, except as they supplied more efficient means for the gratification of his insatiable for cruelty. Such is the history of the nigger in his native land. But he comes to another continent, becomes subordinate to a race that forces him to labor, and presto! there is a change! Freedom has kept him a brute, slavery made him a man, and what must the second freedom make him? Lord of the ascendant! He must be the master and must control the political destinies of the nation, though it be to the exclusion of a race of white men without superior on the face of the earth. Such is the drama now in progress. The white man of the North holds down the white man of the South while the nigger tramples upon him.

Wendell Phillips and Thad Stevens are right. There is nothing in the platform of the republican party but the nigger, and no other subject in national politics worthy thought, by comparison with the discussion of the position, but the rights and the powers the nigger is to have in the nation. This involves the most momentous revolution a people ever passed through. It involves the complete overturning of our present social and political system. We are accustomed to look upon the French Revolution as a sufficiently terrible chapter of history; yet that was only a war between classes, all of whom were of the same race, and its bloodiest phase was merely the insanity of revenge. Here it is insisted that a superior race shall give way to an inferior, when that inferior race has derived only from contact with the other what semblance of humanity it has. Men whose fathers fought side by side with the men of the North in three wars for the honor of the republic—men of a race whose instincts are all towards progress—must yield to a race whose instincts are so positively the other way that, left alone, they fall to absolute barbarism and wildness in a single generation. Of what moment are financial discussions, free trade theories, or political haggling of any sort, by comparison with the deliberation of this nigger question—bearing with it all the possibilities that the Westward progress of civilization is stayed, was definitely arrested by the success of the Northern people in the great war that they supposed was a war against barbarism?

Nothing can have forced the republican party to its present extreme position in regard to the nigger but a sentiment of desperation, a feeling that this degraded race is its forlorn hope, and that if it cannot rule through the slave vote it must relinquish power altogether. The attitude of the Northern people justifies this thought. The protest of the people at the polls—a protest heard from the widest separated extremities of the nation—no only announces to the republican leaders that they have gone farther than the people would permit, but that they have gone so far they can never hope to secure popular confidence again. To abate some portion of their pretension would therefore be useless, and they desperately choose to push the game to its ultimate limit, hoping yet to control by means of the power to be given to the nigger. It is clear enough that this is in all ways a murderous policy—murderous to the country if it prevails and to the men who have planned it if the people can see the purpose. And the people must be made to see; and thus every jot gained in power given to the nigger will be lost by the depth that this policy will inevitably give to the reaction of the nation against the bold, bad, unscrupulous knot of politicians who are definitely determined to ruin if they cannot rule.

Explosion of the Managers' Association. The theatrical managers of this city some time ago attempted to run their establishment on the high pressure principle of arrogant dictation and monopoly, with Barnum as engineer. The result was an explosion of the most disastrous kind, in which fragments of opera, minstrelsy, burlesque, ballet, legitimate and illegitimate drama flew around quite lively. The history of the Managers' Association is an entertaining and instructive one. Commencing with Joyce Keth, and brought into unenviable notoriety in conjunction with the Woolly Horse and Peepie Mermald, the Association set itself up as a champion of humbug, and dared the HERALD, as the champion of monopoly, charlatanism and arrogance, to mortal encounter. Barnum had some trouble at first in organizing his forces. The regular managers, Wheatley, Wallack, Stuart, &c., were for a long time unwilling to commit themselves to his cause. He then changed his tactics, introduced a lot of Bowery and minstrel managers into the Association, and by their aid succeeded in getting a majority of votes to support the cause of the Woolly Horse against the HERALD. War was instantly inaugurated, and the standard of humbug, "This establishment does not advertise in the New York HERALD," was unfurled. After a year's disastrous campaign the minstrels whom Barnum brought into the Association to aid his schemes became sick of the useless struggle and returned to the fold of the woolly horse. To them by their Bohemian supporters proved utterly unpalatable, and they were only too glad to desert the barren realm of humbug. The regular managers, although they early discovered the error of their ways, determined to fight it out on that line; but they, too, became disgusted with the cause in which they embarked. Consequently, about the time that Barnum received a polite but unmistakable intimation from the people of Connecticut that they did not wish him as their representative, the theatrical managers in this city also discarded him. The explosion

of his schemes in the land of steady habits was followed by a similar disaster in Gotham, and he now remains in the same humiliating position as before when he attempted to array the Managers' Association against the HERALD. The lesson is an instructive one to those who may be tempted to espouse the cause of humbug and dictate terms to a public journal.

The Movement in Italy and the Position of Victor Emmanuel.

The movement in Italy for the liberation of Rome and the union of the Papal territory with the kingdom advances with such rapid strides that the ink which records one striking event is hardly dry before news of others is flashed through the Atlantic cable. The last received is highly interesting in several points of view. General Garibaldi was marching on Rome, and was in sight of the city. The amount of his force is not stated, but it was divided into two columns, and the Papal troops were retreating before the victorious insurgents. The whole of Italy seems to be in a state of fermentation. The ardor and determination of the Italian patriots appear irresistible, so that if the fate of Rome were to rest on the Italians alone, there would be little doubt of the result. But we learn at the same time that the French fleet had sailed from Toulon for Civita Vecchia. The mission of this fleet, doubtless, is to interfere in the affairs of Italy, to defend the temporal power of the Pope, and to make war on the Garibaldians. It remains to be seen how far the Italian patriots may be able to resist the formidable intervention of France. That Power thrown into the scale on the side of the Pope makes the contest very doubtful at present.

The news of approaching events, therefore, will be anxiously looked for throughout the civilized world, and particularly in the United States. But what position does Victor Emmanuel occupy at this critical time? Evidently he is much embarrassed. In opposing the popular movement, or by not going with it and controlling it, and thus yielding to the policy and dictation of the French government, he makes himself the vassal of Napoleon. He puts not only Rome but also Italy at the feet of France, and he virtually dethrones himself. Though he is a brave soldier he shows a want of moral courage and sagacity in this great crisis. He talks about his obligations, under the convention with France, not to disturb the Pope or annex the Papal territory. He forgets that the voice of a whole nation—a nation of twenty-six millions of people—is superior to all conventions, particularly when forced upon an unwilling people by the selfish diplomacy of a foreign Power. Great popular movements cannot be bound by such conventions. Nor are governments bound by them when in the way of their policy or interests. Napoleon will not be bound by this one with Victor Emmanuel. By ordering his fleet to Italy he shows how little he respects either his treaty obligations or the sentiments of an independent nation and an ally. Where Napoleon had one reason for intervening in the affairs of Italy and Rome Victor Emmanuel had many and powerful ones to resist the intervention to the last extremity. He has humiliated Italy, and in doing so runs the greatest risk of losing the affection and allegiance of the Italian people.

This view of Victor Emmanuel's position is predicated upon the presumption that he is really opposed to the movement of the Italian patriots. We might have thought his opposition feigned and his real wish covered up, for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of Napoleon and the ultramontane party, had he not permitted intervention against the Italians to go so far; but when he declines to take possession of Rome, and stands still while another French expedition sails for that city, we must conclude he has abandoned the cause of Italian unity out of fear and at the dictation of the French. If he had been wise and had possessed moral courage enough when the movement assumed the grand proportions it has he would have entered Rome before the French could have started to that city, and then have proclaimed to France and the world a *fait accompli*. Then he could have explained the necessity for taking such a step, could have shown it was the only way to settle a troublesome question and preserve the peace of Italy and Europe, could have appealed to the sympathy of mankind, and then could have entered into negotiations with the French and other governments on the basis of what he had done. Such a course, probably, would have prevented the intervention of Napoleon. There might have been some sharp diplomatic talk, but it is not likely any French fleet or French soldiers would have been sent to Rome. At all events the Italians would have rallied with remarkable unanimity to support their brave King. He would have become the most popular monarch in Europe. It is not likely that Napoleon would have made war on the King to drive him out of Rome and to maintain the temporal power of the Pope; but if even he should have attempted it, twenty-six millions of brave and ardent Italians, with the sympathy of the civilized world to back them, would have been a match on their own soil for France, powerful as she is.

But Victor Emmanuel seems to have lost the opportunity of making himself great and all Italy united. Perhaps he has been unwisely playing a game in behalf of the dynasty and against the democratic tendencies of the people. He may have dreaded this popular movement more than the threats of Napoleon or military power of France. His brother monarchs may have advised him to stem the progress of democratic ideas. But, whatever may have been the cause of his incompressible conduct, he has, we are persuaded, made a great mistake. His unpopularity and trouble have just begun, as we see in the difficulty about forming a ministry. The popular general, Cialdini, was not willing to enter the ministry, for his heart is with the Italian people and their cause. He is not disposed to favor the King's French policy, and, probably, may be looking to the future when he may lead the Italian patriots in a war for Rome and Italian independence. Victor Emmanuel has humiliated Italy and placed himself in an unpopular and most difficult position. He did Italy some service in times gone by, but he has done, probably, all he can do. Young Italy now needs another chief and leader. The best thing he can do, therefore, is to abdicate in favor of one of his sons, Humbert or Amédée. These young men have seen service in the field, are brave and full of fire, and better represent the vigor

of his schemes in the land of steady habits was followed by a similar disaster in Gotham, and he now remains in the same humiliating position as before when he attempted to array the Managers' Association against the HERALD. The lesson is an instructive one to those who may be tempted to espouse the cause of humbug and dictate terms to a public journal.

The County Candidates—The Only Chance for the Soldiers.

Out of the three political organizations that have put candidates into the field for county offices at this election, the republicans alone have recognized the claims of the soldiers who fought in the Union army for the suppression of the rebellion. They have placed upon their ticket the names of five men, three for the valuable positions of Sheriff, County Clerk and District Attorney, and two for Coroners, who fought and bled in the late war, while their opponents have entirely ignored the soldiers and conferred their honors upon politicians. Nothing could be more proper than for the city of New York, having the largest interest in the preservation of the government, to bestow honors and emoluments upon those who were instrumental in preventing its overthrow; and yet the soldier candidates are certain to be defeated by a majority reaching tens of thousands. They do not stand a chance of success, not because their services are unrecognized, but because they are put forward as the nominees of men who have initiated a war of races; of a party prepared, in its greed for power, to place ten States of the Union under the terror of black barbarians, and to yield a controlling share of the government of the United States into the hands of semi-savage negroes. As the representatives of so debased a policy, they cannot expect support in an enlightened community like that of New York city.

There is, however, one means left open by which they may retrieve their desperate fortunes. Nothing is more certain than that a large proportion of the men who fought in the war deprecate in their hearts the policy of the stay-at-home radicals, who desire, now that the fighting is over, to fasten negro supremacy upon the country as a means of perpetuating their own power. Let the soldiers upon the republican county ticket come boldly out and repudiate all sympathy or connection with the extreme radical programme of negroizing the government; let them declare that they are opposed to plunging ten States of the Union into worse than Mexican barbarism, that they will never consent that negroes shall fill seats in the United States Senate and hold a balance of power in the national government, and they may yet succeed in gaining the positions for which they have been put in nomination. The struggle now is between the intellect of the white man and the savage barbarism of the black. Let the soldiers of the Union army, who are now before the people of New York for their sacrifices, declare in favor of their own race and their own color, and they may yet secure the reward to which their services in the field justly entitle them.

Arrest of a State Senator on a Charge of Bribery.

Senator Humphrey, who represented the Thirtieth district of the State of New York in the last Legislature, has been arrested and held to bail in Albany on a distinct charge of having received a bribe of five hundred dollars to influence his action as a member of the Senate Railroad Committee in regard to a bill to allow the Manhattan Railway Company to construct certain tunnels and railroads in this city. Senator Humphrey has been renominated by the republicans of his district, and the present proceedings will bring to a practical test certain rumors that have been put in circulation reflecting upon his integrity as a legislator. It will, however, be immaterial which way the trial may go. Hitherto such affairs have been nothing more than broad farces, and have served to render the parties engaged in them ridiculous. But if Senator Humphrey should be convicted he will only have proved himself the fitter candidate for the State Legislature, and should receive the unanimous support of all parties in his district, unless, indeed, it be regarded as a mean job for a Senator to sell himself so low as five hundred dollars, and as improperly depressing the market for Assemblymen and lobbyists. On this ground there may be some objection to Humphrey; otherwise the mere fact of taking a bribe will be in his favor, and will prove that he is even better fitted for the State Legislature than for the State Prison.

National Thanksgiving—The President's Proclamation.

In yesterday's HERALD we published the President's proclamation in which he recommends that "the 28th day of November next be set apart and observed throughout the republic as a day of national thanksgiving and praise to the Almighty Ruler of nations, with whom are omniscience and fear, and who makes peace in his high places, resting and restraining from secular labor on that day." There can be no doubt that the recommendation will be heartily and generally attended to. It is scarcely necessary to express the hope that Governors of States will see the propriety of yielding to the President's recommendation, so that the 28th day of November be held as a day of thanksgiving all over the Union.

Boiler Explosions.

The frequency with which boiler explosions are occurring in the midst of us is fitted to inspire the public with the most serious alarm. Not a week, scarcely a day, passes without some tremendous explosion, destructive at once of life and property, and resulting in almost every instance from the carelessness or incompetency of the officials. The peculiar manner in which, in this city, manufacturing establishments are mixed up with the dwellings of the citizens and the proximity of these establishments to many instances to our great thoroughfares render such explosions peculiarly dangerous. In yesterday's HERALD we published certain details connected with three different explosions. In each case the explosion was the cause of loss of life and resulted from neglect or incompetency. Matters will never be mended so long as engines and boilers are entrusted to ignorant, untrained and incompetent men. It is the duty of the public inspector to see that every man in charge of an engine and boiler is fitted for his post, and the public have right to insist that the inspector discharge his duty.

The Struggle Begins.

The war of races has commenced. From a telegram which we published in yesterday's HERALD we learn that a reign of terror has all but begun in Richmond. A negro vigil

ance committee has been formed. Two citizens have received orders to leave the city within a stipulated period, on pain of personal violence. One of the citizens had spoken disrespectfully of Hummelt; the other had been guilty of the crime of discharging some negro laborers. This is a fair beginning on the part of our future masters. What will the end be?

Another Marine Insurance Company Collapsed.

The Superintendent of the Insurance Bureau has closed up the business of the Washington Marine Insurance Company, of this city, and a receiver has been appointed by the Supreme Court upon the application of the Attorney General of the State. For some time the company has been struggling on, endeavoring by the aid of voluntary loans and assessments to escape the provision of the law which requires that the capital of insurance companies shall remain unimpaired to an amount exceeding twenty-five per cent thereof; but it has at last gone down under a heavy accumulation of losses and bad debts on premium and subscription notes. Now that the actual condition of the company is made public it is matter of surprise how it managed to protract its existence to the present time. Its assets, including sixty per cent of its subscription notes set down as good, are two hundred and twenty-four thousand dollars; its liabilities, including capital, eight hundred and fifty-eight thousand. No new risks have been taken since the latter part of April last.

The Washington was one of the mutual companies that suffered severely in the crisis of 1865-6, but it believed itself able to stand through the trial of that period. It would probably have been better for the stockholders and policy holders if its affairs had been wound up at that time. Certainly the fact that only thirty per cent of the premium notes past due is regarded as good does not show well for the management of the company's affairs. There has been a deplorable recklessness in the manner of transacting the business of marine insurance for the past few years, arising in part from the active competition between rival companies, and in part from the evil system of taking risks through agents. Old trusts, entirely unseaworthy, have been enabled to effect heavy insurances without any difficulty, and the public have been induced to risk life and property on unsafe vessels upon the strength of their acceptance by the underwriters. The truth is, too many of our new insurance companies of late years have become asylums for decayed merchants. It would be a good thing if the business could be confined to the hands of competent, experienced men, and to companies with paid up capital.

THE NASHVILLE MUNICIPAL ELECTION.

The Official Correspondence Between the United States Military Authorities—Instructions From General Grant—General Thomas Ordered Not to Interfere With Either Party, but to Prevent a Conflict and Aid the Governor if Officially Called Upon.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 27, 1867. The following is the official correspondence relative to the municipal election in Nashville, Tenn., on the 22nd of September: HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND, LOUISVILLE, Ky., Sept. 30, 1867. ADJUTANT GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY, WASHINGTON, D. C. Sir—I have the honor to make the following report of facts in relation to the municipal election of the city of Nashville, Tenn., on the 22nd of September. On the 24th of September I received the following communications from Brigadier General Thomas Duane, commanding the Nashville District: HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF NASHVILLE, NASHVILLE, Tenn., Sept. 21, 1867. Brigadier General W. D. Whipple, Adjutant General, Department of the Cumberland: Sir—By day's mail I forward you a copy of the issue of the Nashville Courier of the 21st inst., containing your attention to the proclamation of his Excellency Governor Brownlow and of W. M. Brown, Mayor of Nashville, in relation to the municipal election of the city of Nashville, Tenn., on the 22nd of September. It is my opinion that the position taken by Mayor Brown is the correct one—that the franchise law does not apply to the appointment of judges and clerks of the court in municipal elections, leaving their appointment as it was before the franchise law was passed. I am, therefore, in favor of the Mayor's position, and I am not prepared to take any action in the matter. I have the honor to be, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant, THOMAS DUANE, Lieutenant Colonel Fifth Cavalry.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF NASHVILLE, NASHVILLE, Tenn., Sept. 21, 1867. To Major General W. D. Whipple, Adjutant General, Department of the Cumberland: Sir—In reply to your letter of the 21st inst., in regard to the aspect of political affairs in the forthcoming municipal election of this city, on Saturday next, from my own observation and from the statements of reliable persons, I am convinced that both parties are fully determined to hold their elections on the 22nd of September, and that the Executive and the honorable Mayor of the city, in view, therefore, of preventing a breach of the peace, I respectfully suggest such instructions may be given me as will prevent the receipt of my letter of the 21st and 22nd inst. from being construed as a declaration of war on the part of the military authorities. I am, therefore, in favor of the Mayor's position, and I am not prepared to take any action in the matter. I have the honor to be, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant, THOMAS DUANE, Lieutenant Colonel Fifth Cavalry.

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you to protect the judges and clerks appointed by the Commissioner of Registration and to enforce the franchise law. If you see fit, send a detachment of troops to Nashville, and if additional troops to enable you to keep the peace and enforce the law.

This was telegraphed to the headquarters of the army by General Thomas. On the morning of the 23rd instant, he received the following cipher telegram from the General-in-Chief: WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 24-3-3 P. M. To Major General GEORGE H. THOMAS: The Mayor, City Attorney and President of the Common Council of Nashville express great anxiety to have the time of the charter election on the 22nd. Go to Nashville to-morrow, and endeavor to secure the election to be held on the 22nd. If you think more troops necessary for that purpose, order them there from the most convenient point in your command. If you think it necessary to send troops to Nashville to protect the peace and to enforce the franchise law, it is hoped, however, by seeing the Governor and city officials here referred to, your presence and advice may prevent disturbances. Please keep me advised of the condition of the city. U. S. GRANT, General.

To which General Thomas replied in the following cipher telegram: LOUISVILLE, Ky., Sept. 25, 1867. General H. S. GRANT, Washington, D. C.: Your telegram of the